

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-04 ACDA-05 ISO-00 CU-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-03 H-01 INR-05 L-01 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 DRC-01 /066 W

----- 039408

R 181813Z OCT 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5748

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

USMISSION GENEVA

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

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GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, GW

SUBJECT: BUNDESTAG DEBATE ON CSCE

BEGIN SUMMARY: THE DEBATE ABOUT CSCE STEMMING FROM THE  
CDU/CSU OPPOSITION'S GRAND INTERPELLATION ("GROSSE  
ANFRAGE") TOOK PLACE ON OCTOBER 17. IT SHOWED AN  
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OPPOSITION DESIRE TO AVOID THE KIND OF HARSH CONFRONTA-

TION WHICH EXISTS BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION OVER OSTPOLITIK AND INNER-GERMAN POLICY. OPPOSITION SPOKESMAN TOOK PAINS TO STRESS THE "CONSTRUCTIVE" NATURE OF THE OPPOSITION'S COMMENTS. END SUMMARY

1. FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER SET FORTH SIX THESES WHICH HE FELT COULD BE ACCEPTED BY ALL PARTIES IN PARLIAMENT. THEY ARE: (A) THE CONFERENCE SHOULD LEAD TO A LASTING UNDERSTANDING NOT SUBJECT TO DISTURBANCES AND TEMPORARY FLUCTUATIONS; (B) OUT OF ENLIGHTENED SELF-INTEREST, BONN IS PLAYING AN ACTIVE ROLE IN GENEVA TOGETHER WITH ITS PARTNERS IN NATO AND THE EEC; (C) THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE MUST BE OF IMMEDIATE BENEFIT TO THE PEOPLE; (D) SECURITY AND COOPERATION WILL BE BEST FURTHERED IF HUMAN RIGHTS, THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION, AND BASIC FREEDOMS ARE OBSERVED EVERYWHERE; (E) THE CONFERENCE MUST NOT ERECT ANY OBSTACLE TOWARDS A POLICY WHICH STRIVES FOR THE RESTORATION OF A UNITED GERMANY THROUGH FREE SELF-DETERMINATION AND WHICH ALSO STRIVES FOR THE UNIFICATION OF EUROPE; AND (F) THE RESULTS OF THE CSCE CONFERENCE CANNOT UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES REPLACE THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE.

2. GENSCHER ANNOUNCED THAT SIX OF THE TEN PRINCIPLES IN THE CSCE DECLARATION HAD ALREADY BEEN FORMULATED. THIS AND OTHER ACHIEVEMENTS HAD ONLY BEEN POSSIBLE BECAUSE OF THE UNITY DISPLAYED BY THE EC-9. THIS UNITY IN TURN HAD PROMOTED NATO-WIDE AGREEMENT AND FACILITATED COMPROMISES WITH NON-ALLIANCE AND NEUTRAL NATIONS. NEVERTHELESS, FINAL AGREEMENT WOULD NOT BE EASY. THE SECOND STAGE COULD HARDLY BE COMPLETED BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR AND THE THIRD NOT BEFORE THE LATE SPRING OF 1975.

3. THE OPPOSITION SHOWED ITS AGREEMENT WITH THE GOVERNMENT ON ALL MAJOR ISSUES. THIS AGREEMENT COVERED THE MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE PROBLEMS SUCH AS PEACEFUL CHANGE OF FRONTIERS, HUMAN CONTACTS, FAMILY REUNIFICATION, FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT, PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS,

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R 181813Z OCT 74

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AND HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION. IT ALSO COVERED SOME OF THE MORE TECHNICAL PROBLEMS: INSISTENCE THAT ALL PRINCIPLES ARE EQUIVALENT AND ARE TO BE REGARDED AS A WHOLE, REJECTION OF THE DEMAND THAT A PERMANENT FOLLOW-ON ORGANIZATION TO CSCE BE ESTABLISHED, AND INSISTENCE THAT CSCE NEITHER CREATES NEW INTERNATIONAL LAW NOR AN ALL-EUROPEAN SECURITY SYSTEM.

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4. WHILE THE DEBATE WAS LOW-KEYED AND CONSTRUCTIVE, THE OPPOSITION REITERATED ITS BASIC DISTRUST OF THE EAST. THIS DISTRUST, IT FELT, WAS JUSTIFIED BY THE CONSTANT BICKERING BETWEEN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC AND VARIOUS COMMUNIST NATIONS OVER THE INTERPRETATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF EARLIER AGREEMENTS THAT HAD BEEN DESIGNED TO END THIS VERY KIND OF BICKERING. MUCH MORE PESSIMISTIC THAN THE GOVERNMENT OVER THE LIKELY OUTCOME OF THE CSCE NEGOTIATIONS, THE OPPOSITION WARNED THE GOVERNMENT AGAINST "ONCE AGAIN" BEING OVERCONFIDENT, OVEROPTIMISTIC, RASH AND CARELESS IN DEALING WITH THE EAST. IT BROADLY HINTED THAT THE GOVERNMENT MIGHT LACK THE PATIENCE, PERSEVERENCE AND SKEPTICISM NEEDED TO DEAL SUCCESSFULLY WITH COMMUNIST COUNTRIES.

5. AS USUAL THE CSU WAS MORE MILITANTLY RIGHTIST THAN THE CDU. CSU DEPUTY ZIMMERMANN CAME OUT FOR REVERSE LINKAGE WITH A VENGEANCE WHEN HE STATED THAT NO CSCE FINAL CONFERENCE SHOULD BE HELD UNLESS SATISFACTORY RESULTS ARE IN THE OFFING FOR THE MBFR TALKS. PROVIDING A NOTE OF UNREALITY TO THE DEBATE, HE AFFIRMED THAT THE FRG SHOULD SIGN A FINAL CSCE DOCUMENT ONLY IF THE GDR ABOLISHES THE ORDER TO SHOOT AT EAST GERMAN REFUGEES AND ONLY IF ALL GERMANS ARE GUARANTEED THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION.

6. CONCLUSION: THE OPPOSITION COULD HARDLY DO LESS THAN ISSUE ITS WARNINGS. NEITHER THEY NOR ZIMMERMANN'S REMARKS SPOILED THE OVERALL CONSTRUCTIVE NATURE OF THE DEBATE.  
HILLENBRAND

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## Message Attributes

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**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** CENTRAL LEGISLATURE, NEGOTIATIONS, POLITICAL PARTIES  
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**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 18 OCT 1974  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** golinofr  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
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**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
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**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
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**Review Markings:**

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30 JUN 2005

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**Review Transfer Date:**  
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**Subject:** BUNDESTAG DEBATE ON CSCE BEGIN SUMMARY: THE DEBATE ABOUT CSCE STEMMING FROM THE  
**TAGS:** PFOR, GE, CSCE  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005